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## ABSTRACT

Shock incarceration facilities, or boot camp prisons, for young adults are being developed in city, county, state, and federal jurisdictions. This report focuses on one state's program. Two key components of this boot camp program include substance abuse education and a therapeutic approach which seeks to support successful reintegration of inmates into the community. The program emphasizes treatment as a means of promoting public safety. It seeks to build character, instill responsibility, and promote a positive self-image so that nonviolent offenders can return to society as law-abiding citizens. Discussed here are the eligibility and selection criteria for the program, staff training, phase one of the program (incarceration) and phase two (intensive community supervision), and outcomes. Evaluations of the program have reached several conclusions: (1) the program saves the state money by reducing expenditures for care and custody and by avoiding new prison construction; (2) shock incarceration graduates increase their reading and math scores by about one grade level during their 6 month confinement; and (3) return to prison rates for program graduates were lower than those who would have been eligible for the program but who did not enter shock treatment or who dropped out. Caveats about the conclusions are offered. (RJM)

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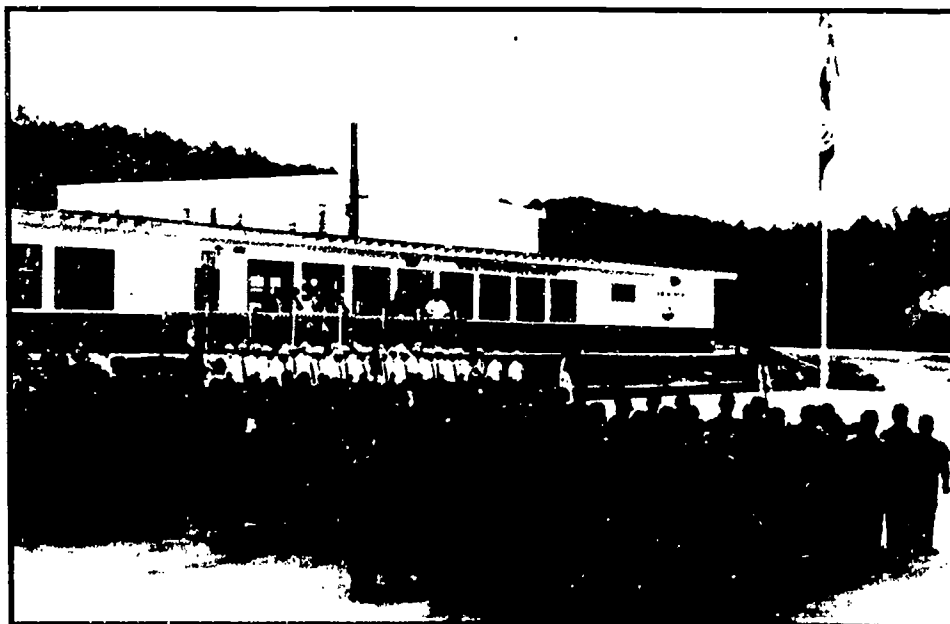
*Program Focus*

## Shock Incarceration in New York

### *Focus on Treatment*

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# Shock Incarceration in New York: Focus on Treatment

by Cherie L. Clark, David W. Aziz, and Doris L. MacKenzie

**S**hock incarceration facilities, or boot camp prisons, for young adults are being developed in city, county, State, and Federal jurisdictions.<sup>1</sup> They provide shorter incarceration than the youthful offenders would normally receive, but the regimen involves strict, military-style discipline, unquestioning obedience to orders, and highly structured days filled with drill and hard work. New York State's boot camps add a new dimension to this typical regimen. In New York State, the program is designed to provide a total learning environment that fosters involvement, self-direction, and individual responsibility.

## Highlights

New York State's Shock Incarceration program for young adults provides a therapeutic environment where young non-violent offenders receive substance abuse treatment, academic education, and other help to promote their reintegration into the community.

All aspects of the Shock Incarceration, or boot camp, regimen have as their goal the development of law-abiding citizens. The therapeutic approach adopted by New York State's four Shock Incarceration facilities encompasses drill and ceremony, physical training, work, and education, to which are added a heavy emphasis on substance abuse education and treatment and the development of personal responsibility. A program called "Network," in which staff receive special training, integrates all these components into a single treatment environment.

New York's Shock Incarceration program has had the following outcomes:

- Substantial savings in operational and capital costs. This has been accomplished by reducing to 6 months the time these offenders would ordinarily have spent in prison.
- Improvements in educational achievement. On average, graduates of Shock Incarceration in New York have improved their reading and math scores by one grade level.
- When the return-to-prison rates of graduates are compared to those of other inmates, the graduates did as well as (or in some situations better than) parolees who did not participate or complete the program.

Key components of this approach are substance abuse education and a treatment program called Network, which not only engages the specific participation of Shock Incarceration inmates but overlies the rest of the daily regimen of drill, ceremony, physical training, work, and academic education. Network was designed to establish living and learning units within correctional facilities that are supervised and operated by specially trained correctional officers and supervisors.

The New York State Department of Correctional Services began the Shock Incarceration program in September 1987 and currently operates four adult facilities dedicated to Shock Incarceration with a total capacity of 1,570, including 180 beds for women offenders and 225 beds for orientation and screening.<sup>2</sup> The department has introduced innovative techniques not only for treatment but also for facility management, staff training, and aftercare program followup.

New York's Shock Incarceration program has two legislatively mandated goals:

- To treat and release selected State prisoners earlier than their court-mandated minimum period of incarceration<sup>3</sup> without endangering public safety.
- To reduce the need for prison bedspace.

The program emphasizes treatment as a means of promoting public safety. It seeks to build character, instill responsibility, and promote a positive self-image so that nonviolent offend-

## Women in Shock Incarceration

Rita finishes 50 sit-ups and springs to her feet. At 6 a.m. her platoon begins a 5-mile run, the last portion of this morning's physical training. After 5 months in New York's Lakeview Shock Incarceration Correctional Facility, the morning workout is easy. Rita even enjoys it, taking pride in her physical conditioning.

When Rita graduates and returns to New York City, she will face 6 months of intensive supervision before moving to regular parole. More than two-fifths of Rita's platoon did not make it this far; some withdrew voluntarily, and the rest were removed for misconduct or failure

to participate satisfactorily. By completing shock incarceration, she will enter parole 11 months before her minimum release date.

The requirements for completing shock incarceration are the same for male and female inmates. The women live in a separate housing area of Lakeview. Otherwise, men and women participate in the same education, physical training, drill and ceremony, drug education, and counseling programs. Men and women are assigned to separate work details and attend Network group meetings held in inmates' living units.

ers can return to society as law-abiding citizens.

New York's Shock Incarceration program is divided into two 6-month phases:

- Phase 1: an intensive incarceration program operated by the Department of Correctional Services.

- Phase 2: intensive community supervision conducted by the Division of Parole.

Phase 1 is built around a therapeutic program called "Network," which seeks to create a positive environment to support successful reintegration of inmates into the community. Within this general framework, inmates engage in the activities normally associated with boot camps.

During phase 2, Shock Incarceration graduates are intensively supervised in the community. In New York City, where most of them return, a program termed "AfterShock" helps with housing, drug and alcohol treatment, relapse prevention, family counseling,

job training and placement, and other critical needs. Much of this is accomplished with the assistance of a variety of community-based service agencies.

## Eligibility and Selection

In New York, judges cannot sentence offenders directly to Shock Incarceration. Sentenced offenders can enter the Shock Incarceration program if they are legally eligible, if the Department of Correctional Services (DOCS) staff determines they are suitable for the program, and if they are willing to become participants. Because Shock Incarceration participants who successfully complete phase 1 are released prior to serving their mandated minimum prison terms, the eligibility and suitability criteria have been designed to ensure that the program admits only candidates who will benefit from participation and eliminates those who pose a risk to society.

To qualify, offenders must be under 35 and eligible for parole within 3 years of admission to DOCS. They

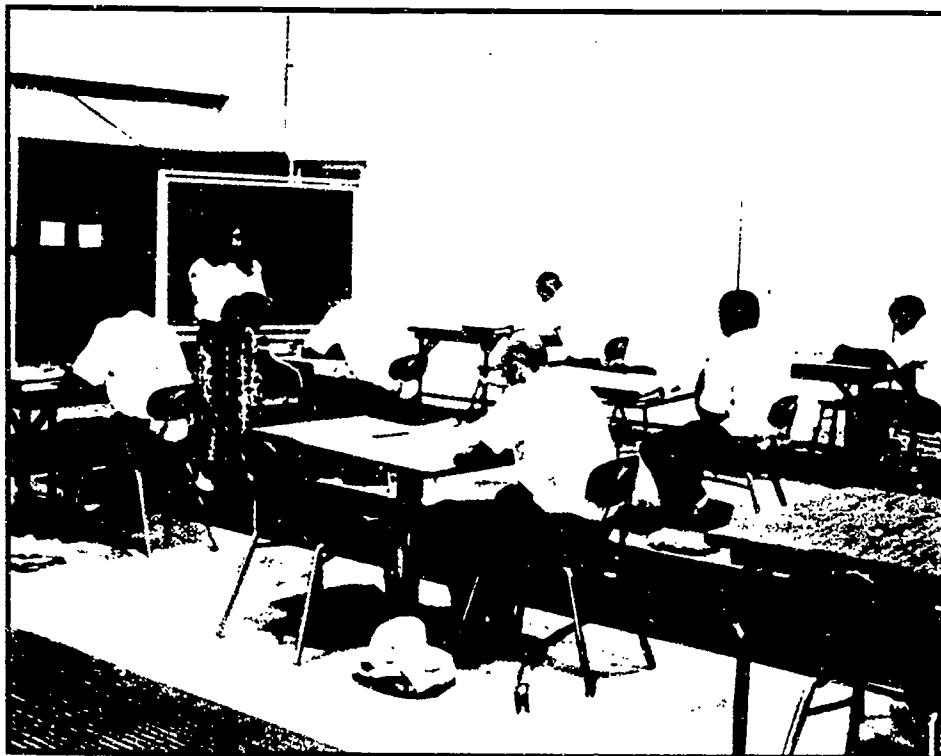
must not have committed a violent or sexual offense or been previously sentenced to an indeterminate prison term. Both males and females are eligible [see box].

## Screening

All offenders committed to DOCS who are legally eligible for Shock Incarceration are sent to an orientation and screening center at Lakeview Shock Incarceration Correctional Facility (SICF). This facility also houses 720 offenders, including all eligible women offenders, in phase 1 and is the training center for all Shock Incarceration staff.

When screening was decentralized, ineligible inmates in some facilities would spread rumors during screening that discouraged eligible inmates from volunteering for Shock Incarceration. Centralized screening was begun to increase the proportion of inmates who volunteer for the program, and it appears to have helped. In fiscal year 1992-93 approximately 65 percent of eligible offenders were admitted to the program after screening, compared to about 47 percent in 1988-1989 when screening was not centralized.

At screening interviews, offenders are informed about Shock Incarceration program requirements and must decide whether they want to volunteer for the program instead of serving their full terms in prison. Participants are carefully examined for mental and physical problems that would prohibit them from taking part in the program. While the evaluation is in progress, offenders are introduced to some of the Shock Incarceration program activities. DOCS officials believe this brief



*All participants in New York's Shock Incarceration program spend at least 12 hours each week on academic education.*

exposure has lowered withdrawal rates among those who enter Shock Incarceration.

## Entry and Removal

Male offenders who volunteer for the Shock Incarceration program either remain at Lakeview or are sent to one of the other three SICF's located throughout the State. Females remain at Lakeview. SICF's are minimum-security facilities, some of which were formerly forestry camps; they are located in remote wooded areas that afford opportunities for hard outdoor labor. Male participants enter in platoons of 54 to 60 once each month, and the platoons proceed through the 180-day program as a unit.

The first 2 weeks of Shock Incarceration are called "zero weeks." Inmates learn the basics of physical training,

drill and ceremony, and discipline. It is a period of orientation, indoctrination, and initial evaluation with a focus on strict discipline and attention to detail. Most volunteer dropouts occur during zero weeks. To minimize zero-week dropouts, the period is emphasized as an educational time for easing inmates into the program requirements.

Exhibit 1 shows the weekday schedule of activities for inmates in phase 1. They arise at 5:30 a.m. and are kept busy until 9:30 p.m. with highly structured activities including physical training, work, drug and alcohol treatment, education, recreation, and drill and ceremony. There are no free time periods, no packages from home, no commissary, no radios, no magazines, no newspapers, and no television.

Offenders can be removed from Shock Incarceration for legal, medical, disciplinary, or adjustment problems, or they may voluntarily decide to leave. Overall, about 37 percent of those admitted fail to complete phase 1 and are sent to regular prisons to complete their original sentences.

**Characteristics of participants.** In September 1993, New York State had 1,188 males and 129 females in the Shock Incarceration program. Exhibit 2 (page 8) presents some participant characteristics.

## Staff Training

Staff training is a key component of Shock Incarceration. Staff in any DOCS facility can apply for openings at SICF's. Once chosen they take part in a 4-week training program patterned after the Shock Incarceration regimen for offenders. The training program is designed to familiarize all staff with the concepts, goals, and structure of the Shock Incarceration program. It seeks to give them a better understanding of the inmates they will work with and of the interrelationships among security, programs, and administration.

The training is largely experiential in format. The schedule is based on a modified version of the Shock Incarceration day, which includes physical training, drill and ceremony, and instructor development, while covering some aspect of the 6-month treatment curriculum. The course content includes leadership skills and teaching techniques. All staff, regardless of discipline, learn the fundamentals of decisionmaking, substance abuse con-



## Exhibit 1. Daily Schedule for Offenders in New York Shock Incarceration Facilities

### A.M.

5:30	Wake up and standing count
5:45-6:30	Calisthenics and drill
6:30-7:00	Run
7:00-8:00	Mandatory breakfast/cleanup
8:15	Standing count and company formation
8:30-11:55	Work/school schedules

### P.M.

12:00-12:30	Mandatory lunch and standing count
12:30-3:30	Afternoon work/school schedule
3:30-4:00	Shower
4:00-4:45	Network community meeting
4:45-5:45	Mandatory dinner, prepare for evening
6:00-9:00	School, group counseling, drug counseling, prerelease counseling, decisionmaking classes
8:00	Count while in programs
9:15-9:30	Squad bay, prepare for bed
9:30	Standing count, lights out

cepts, learning theory, physical training, and drill and ceremony. Group unity and teamwork are also emphasized, as staff from different disciplines work with inmates as a team.

To date, more than 1,500 staff members have been trained during 14 sessions. In addition, DOCS has provided staff training or technical assistance in staff training to at least 15 other Shock Incarceration programs located in 10 different jurisdictions. The program director and supervising superintendent have been involved in developing standards for boot camps with the National Institute of Corrections and the American Corrections Association.

## Phase 1: Intensive Incarceration

Over 40 percent of inmates' time is spent in treatment and education. The program is divided as follows:

- Physical training, drill and ceremony: 26 percent.
- Treatment and education sessions to treat addictions: 28 percent.
- Academic education: 13 percent.
- Hard labor on facility and community projects: 33 percent.

### Physical Training, Drill, and Ceremony

Each morning from 5:45 to 7:00 participants perform calisthenics and run. Throughout the day, inmates march to and from activities in platoon or squad formation. Three times a day, formal company formations of platoons muster before physical training, work or school, and evening programs.

### Work

Participants perform 6 hours of hard work per day while in Shock Incarceration, arranged in two 3-hour periods before and after lunch. Several

camps are located adjacent to State conservation land, on which Shock Incarceration inmates cut firebreaks or maintain public-use areas. Inmates also work on the grounds of the Shock Incarceration facilities. Altogether, inmates who complete Shock Incarceration perform 650 hours of hard work.

Working in supervised crews, the inmates also perform thousands of hours of community service for cash-strapped municipalities and community groups in the areas surrounding the four Shock Incarceration facilities. In 1993 alone, New York Shock Incarceration inmates performed approximately 1.2 million hours of community service. If these municipalities and organizations had hired laborers at \$5 per hour to perform this same work, the cost would have been \$6 million.

The staff and inmates from Shock Incarceration facilities have also helped communities in the aftermath of emergencies. Inmates from the Moriah SICF helped contain and clean up after forest fires. Summit and Lakeview inmates cleaned up after tornadoes struck nearby communities, and inmates from Lakeview cleaned beaches after a large number of fish were found dead in Lake Erie.

In addition, Lakeview inmates provide services for an ongoing Trooper Toys-for-Tots program. They repair damaged donated toys and haul, sort, and prepare them for distribution across the United States and in Canada and other countries. In 1992, thousands of dollars worth of toys were sent to the victims of hurricane Andrew. The

director of Trooper Toys-for-Tots estimates that the value of the toys repaired and distributed to needy children has exceeded \$960,000 since Lakeview began this program in 1989.

## Network

This therapeutic approach has been used in DOCS facilities since 1978, but due to recent budget cuts, the program now functions only in Shock Incarceration facilities. Network emphasizes a decisional approach to problem-solving and building self-esteem using a 5-step model taught in 12 sessions. An emphasis on family issues and parenting skills that is part of most New York Shock Incarceration

curriculum responds to the fact that approximately 75 percent of the women inmates and half of the men are parents.

Inmates are formed into platoons who live together as a unit; they hold a Network community meeting daily to resolve problems and reflect on their progress. Network helps inmates adjust to community living and develop socialization, employment, communication, decisionmaking, and critical thinking skills.

All staff, officers, counselors, supervisors, teachers, and support staff in Shock Incarceration facilities are

trained in Network methods so that the skills are reinforced in every aspect of the Shock Incarceration program. Community agencies and volunteers are also encouraged to participate, further developing a network of resources.

## Substance Abuse Treatment

New York's emphasis on putting alcohol and substance abuse treatment within the context of a therapeutic community distinguishes it from Shock Incarceration programs in other parts of the country. All offenders participate in Alcohol and Substance Abuse Treatment (ASAT), a drug education and group counseling program, for a minimum of two 3-hour sessions per week.

ASAT is based on the 12-step recovery program of Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous and is staffed by trained substance abuse counselors. Materials from the Network program are also included in the curriculum, revised in 1990. With help from a Bureau of Justice Assistance grant, Spanish translations of the curriculum were also made available.

## Education

Improved educational achievement is a central objective of New York's Shock Incarceration program. All participants spend at least 12 hours in academic work each week. Over the course of their stay, participants complete at least 260 hours of academic education, including remedial education, basic high school equivalency classes, and preparation for the GED (General Equivalency Diploma). Offenders who have completed high

## The Network Program

The Network program objectives are grouped into three basic areas:

- Responsibility for self.
- Responsibility to others.
- Responsibility for the quality of one's life.

Network teaches that in order to make responsible decisions, participants must consider their own wants and needs, the effect they have on others, and their own particular situations. It teaches them that responsible behavior results from recognizing the difference between wants and needs and learning appropriate ways of getting needs met. Criminal behavior and substance abuse are negative, dysfunctional attempts to meet one's needs.

The Network program is based on the premise that a sense of self-worth and personal pride are the foundation of a

responsible lifestyle. Network environments are thus structured to foster respect for self and others and to focus on supportive community living methods. These methods have been developed, tested, and refined by staff and participants over time.

When staff introduce participants to Network, they clearly state the standards of behavior expected and discuss how these standards support individuals and the life of the community. All participants must make a commitment to fulfill their personal goals and live up to community standards. At daily community meetings, their performance on the standards are reviewed and evaluated. Members participate in program management to the degree that they demonstrate their capacity to make informed, responsible decisions.



*A significant part of the life — 6 hours a day — of a DOCS Shock Incarceration inmate is spent performing hard work.*

school or obtained a GED spend these hours as tutors or literacy volunteers. In fulfillment of the Network concept, the education program also draws on community resources, with volunteers from the community participating as tutors.

### **Evaluation of Inmate Performance**

Staff members evaluate inmates daily in three areas—work assignments, Network, and drill and ceremony—and do weekly evaluations of their participation in substance abuse treatment and education. Inmates are graded on the extent to which they

accept criticism and show respect; manage their time; and demonstrate cooperation, positive efforts, compliance with instructions, and progress in the program. Participants get quick feedback—both positive and negative—on their progress.

The Shock Incarceration program places strict limits on inmates' behavior. For many participants, such limits constitute a new and unique experience. Many enter Shock Incarceration only to shorten their term of confinement, and some later decide they are unwilling to make the positive lifestyle changes demanded by the program.

Participants who commit a single rule violation are not necessarily forced to leave the program, but serious or continual rule violations are generally cause for dismissal. Because of the program's rigor, about 37 percent of those who enter Shock Incarceration do not complete it.

While strict discipline and close supervision are integral to the treatment plan, they also contribute to facility security. Disruptive inmates are removed from Shock Incarceration and transferred to a higher security prison.

Graduation ceremonies are attended by DOCS officials and State dignitaries, often including judges, the Governor, and State legislators, in addition to family members and friends. Graduation certificates are presented, and special awards are made to the two inmates with the highest and the most improved evaluation scores. After the ceremony many new graduates introduce Shock Incarceration staff to their families.

### **Phase 2: Intensive Community Supervision**

The postprison phase of the Shock Incarceration program—called "AfterShock"—is operated by the Division of Parole. AfterShock's goal is to continue the intensity of supervision begun during the incarceration phase and to provide opportunities and programs in the community that will improve parolees' chances for successful reintegration.

Although AfterShock is statewide, the Division of Parole concentrates most



of its resources in New York City where almost two-thirds of the Shock Incarceration parolees reside. Parole officers supervising Shock Incarceration graduates have reduced case-loads—only 38 Shock Incarceration graduates to 2 parole officers—to allow increased contacts between the officers and parolees for home visits, curfew checks, and drug testing. Shock Incarceration parolees have priority access to community services, such as educational and vocational training, increased employment opportunities, relapse prevention counseling, and Network meetings. The Division of Parole (DOP) contracts for specialized vocational and employment services from the Vera Institute of Justice and for relapse prevention services from the Fellowship Center in New York City. Many Shock Incarceration graduates have been hired by these service providers to help other graduates readjust to community living.

## Outcomes

New York's enabling legislation specifically requires DOCS to evaluate phase 1 of the program and the Divi-

sion of Parole to evaluate phase 2. Evaluation staff from both agencies have coordinated their efforts to avoid duplication and to produce studies useful to policymakers. These agencies prepare a joint annual legislative report. Results of these efforts follow.

## Cost Containment

One goal of New York's Shock Incarceration program is to reduce prison crowding. To achieve this goal, DOCS staff must recommend a sufficient number of eligible inmates for the program; a large proportion of those recommended must volunteer to enter the program; and a large number of offenders entering the program must complete it. It is also important that participants be offenders who otherwise would be incarcerated rather than placed on probation.

DOCS maintains that Shock Incarceration saves money in two ways: first, by reducing expenditures for care and custody; and second, by avoiding capital costs for new prison construction. Graduation from Shock Incarceration is the only systemic way New York inmates can be released from prison

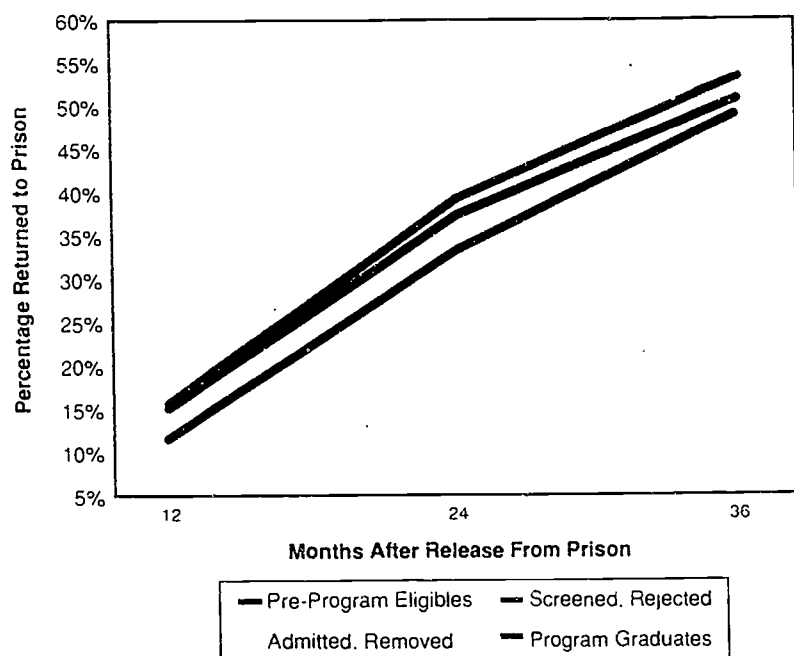
before their minimum parole eligibility date. Shock incarceration facilities cost somewhat more per inmate per day than either medium security or camp facilities because they offer more programming and have more staff. Yet Shock Incarceration saves care and custody costs by shortening the terms of confinement for those who complete the program. If Shock Incarceration were not available, 60 percent of those inmates would go to camps and 40 percent would go to medium security facilities. Savings realized from Shock Incarceration were calculated by subtracting the cost of having to house graduates if the program did not exist.

DOCS estimates it saves approximately \$2 million in care and custody costs for every 100 Shock Incarceration graduates (about \$20,000 per inmate). For the first 8,842 graduates from Shock Incarceration as of September 30, 1993, New York DOCS estimates it saved \$176.2 million in care and custody costs. This savings takes into account costs associated with the 5,331 Shock Incarceration inmates who did not graduate.

**Exhibit 2. Characteristics of Participants**

	Males	Females
Total Number of Participants, September 1993	1,188	129
Average Age	25.2	26.9
Average Years of Schooling	10.4 years	10.7 years
Average Number of Prior Felony Arrests	1.4	1.2
Parole Eligibility	In 18.5 months	In 19.4 months
Percentage Convicted of Drug Offense	66.3 percent	82.2 percent
Percentage Committed From New York City	53.2 percent	68.2 percent

**Exhibit 3. Return to Prison Rates for Shock Incarceration Graduates and Comparison Groups**



Additionally, DOCS estimates that Shock Incarceration has freed up enough space to accommodate an additional 1,954 inmates. This saved DOCS \$129.1 million in capital construction costs that would have been needed if the Shock Incarceration program did not exist (based on a per-bed capital cost of \$52,000 for a camp bed and \$86,000 for a medium security bed). Altogether, DOCS estimates that through September 1993 Shock Incarceration saved \$305.3 million in custody, care, and capital construction costs. These estimates do not include offsets for the added cost of intensive parole supervision for Shock Incarceration graduates, however.

## Educational Improvements

On the Test of Adult Basic Education, a standardized testing instrument used

by DOCS, Shock Incarceration graduates on average increased both their reading and math scores by about one grade level during their 6 months of confinement:

- 45 percent increased their reading scores, with half of these going up two or more grade levels and 6 percent going up four or more grade levels.
- 61 percent increased their math scores, with half of these going up two or more grade levels and 14 percent going up four or more grade levels.

Of the 593 Shock Incarceration graduates who were tested for the GED in fiscal year 1992-1993, approximately 70.5 percent passed after a relatively short period of preparation and study.

**Return-to-prison rates.** DOCS has compared the return-to-prison rates of Shock Incarceration graduates with three other groups at 12, 24, and 36 months after release:

- Inmates who would have been eligible for Shock Incarceration but were paroled before Shock Incarceration was established.
- Inmates eligible for Shock Incarceration who were screened for participation but did not enter the program.
- Inmates admitted to Shock Incarceration who withdrew or were removed before completion.

Exhibit 3 shows the results of those comparisons, which indicate that:

- After 12 months, 10 percent of Shock Incarceration graduates returned to prison compared to 16 percent for offenders who were eligible before Shock Incarceration was established, 15 percent for those screened but rejected by DOCS, and 17 percent for those who withdrew or were removed from Shock Incarceration before completion.
- After 24 months, 30 percent of the Shock Incarceration graduates returned to prison, compared to 36 percent of the pre-Shock-Incarceration inmates, 36 percent for the considered inmates, and 41 percent of participants who failed to complete the program.

This analysis performed by DOCS and DOP researchers indicates that at 12 and 24 months, the Shock Incarceration graduates have significantly lower return-to-prison rates than offenders in

the other three groups. At 36 months, Shock Incarceration graduates still return to prison at lower rates, but the differences are only significant between the program graduates and the considered inmates.

It is important to note that these groups were not randomly assigned nor were differences among groups statistically controlled for in the analysis. It is possible that these differences in return-to-prison rates are really due to differences that existed among the groups prior to the beginning of the Shock Incarceration program. Certain types of offenders could be selected by the staff, or certain types of offenders may be willing to participate. Therefore, any differences among groups may be due to these preexisting differences and not from what is done in the Shock Incarceration program. Another possibility is that the program is a way to select those who will be better risks in the community if they succeed in the program, because those who drop out of the program fail at a higher rate than the other groups.

Furthermore, the research does not untangle the effects of the military atmosphere, the rehabilitation aspects of the program, and the intensive supervision. Any or all of these components of the program could affect the return-to-prison rates.

Since Shock Incarceration graduates are confined for substantially shorter periods and fail at the same or lower rates than the comparison groups, DOCS officials believe the program is meeting the goals of reducing the need for prison beds without increasing the risk to public safety.

## Ongoing Research

Long-term evaluation efforts are under way in New York; these findings will increase understanding of how well the program is working and lead to modifications that will improve its effectiveness.

## Multisite Evaluation

In March 1989, DOCS was selected to participate in an NIJ-sponsored multisite study of Shock Incarceration programs. Coordinated by Dr. Doris MacKenzie, the multisite study has been examining Shock Incarceration programs in eight States. The research design and data collected are similar in each site. The study has three parts—process evaluation, impact of the program on individual offenders, and system changes including costs and benefits—and has been looking at:

- The goals of the programs.
- The success of Shock Incarceration programs in achieving the goals.
- Components of shock incarceration programs that lead to success or failure.

Results are expected to be available in 1994. While the eight programs have some common features, they differ in participants, program components, and aftercare.

## Typology of Shock Incarceration Successes and Failures

In addition to participating in the multisite study, DOCS is developing a typology of shock incarceration success and failure to determine what inmate characteristics or aspects of the

Shock Incarceration process were associated with success or failure in the program. A total of 63 interviews were conducted with graduates returned to DOCS custody and 30 with graduates who remained on supervision for more than 12 months without any violation.

The study found that failure rates increased for inmates whose family members had serious criminal convictions or substance abuse problems, who were arrested at a young age, who were incarcerated as juveniles, or had a history of serious alcohol abuse. The study also found that Shock Incarceration graduates who exhibited unwillingness to adhere to the rules of the phase 2 program (for example, by getting a job that interfered with parole supervision conditions, not attending meetings regularly, or dropping out of substance abuse treatment) were less likely to complete their parole period successfully. DOCS staff are using these findings to refine elements of the program and requirements for postrelease supervision.

## Conclusion

Much still remains to be learned about the shock incarceration approach as an alternative sanction for nonviolent offenders and particularly about New York's therapeutic approach. This research used preexisting groups for the comparisons (random assignment was not used), and in the data analysis no variables were added to control for differences among groups. Therefore, the results should be interpreted with caution. Also, attempts to generalize the results to other boot camps should not be done without a careful analysis

of the components of the programs being compared. As described in this Program Focus, the New York Shock Incarceration program include numerous components that are not found in other boot camp prisons.

New York's Shock Incarceration program is notable in terms of its size, intensity of treatment programming and AfterShock care, and levels of staff training. DOCS evaluation so far indicates that the program is responding to the legislature's call for reducing prison bedspace needs without increasing the public's risk. Even more important, New York's therapeutic approach may point the way for redirecting the lives of a number of young offenders, helping them stay out of the criminal justice system once they have paid their debt to the community.

### Notes

1. Parent, D.G. (1989). *Shock Incarceration: An Overview of Existing Programs*. Washington, D.C.: NIJ Issues and Practices Report, National Institute of Justice. See also MacKenzie, D.L. (1993). "Boot Camp Prisons in 1993." *National Institute of Justice Journal*, November: 21-28.
2. In 1990, New York's Lakeview Shock Incarceration Facility became the first stand-alone such facility in the Nation to be accredited by the American Correctional Association (ACA). Since then, the three remaining Shock Incarceration facilities, Moriah, Monterey, and Summit, have received ACA accreditation.
3. New York law permits Shock Incarceration graduates to be paroled before they have served the mandatory minimum prison term that would otherwise apply.

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Additional information about the New York Shock Incarceration program can be obtained from the New York State Department of Correctional Services, Building 2, Harriman Office Campus, Albany, NY 12226 (518-457-3007).

Findings and conclusions of the research reported here are those of the researchers and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

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